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1539, citing R. Estienne). But *engraisser* also meant 'to fatten' (*Dict. Gén.*, xith century, citing *St. Alexis*), hence transferred 'to enrich'; cf. *s'engraisser* (Littré) and Sp. *untarse*, 'que- darse con algo en las cosas que se manejan, especialmente dinero.'¹⁷ It was natural thus that *oindre* should alternate in the old language with *engraisser* in the expression *oindre la paume, les mains*. An example occurs in Altmeyer, *Archives judiciaires de Hainaut*, p. 125: "Vous avé veu la collere de Monseigneur, disant que se ne nous cognoissoit gens de bien, auroit opinion qu'avions heu les mains engraisées."

Engraisser les mains must, therefore, be regarded as a form intermediate between *oindre la paume* and *graisser la patte*. *Graisser la patte* replaced *engraisser les mains* at the time of specialization in the meaning of *engraisser* from 'anoint' to 'fatten.' The determining influence was the noun *graisse*, which, itself associated with illegitimate money (cf. the expression *il n'y a pas grand'graisse*, 'there is not much in it' [?])¹⁸ and being at the same time the stem of the verb *graisser*, crowded out the older and more stilted form. In *patte* for *main* we have a humorous degeneration, possibly due to the use of the locution in folk-tales involving animals, such as were at the base of La Fontaine's fables.¹⁹ This tendency is prominently set forth in other locutions involving *patte* under that word in Littré.

We conclude, therefore, that *oindre la paume* is an extension of the idea appearing in *to grease the wheels*; noting the unrecorded synonyms *oindre la carniere, oindre les huis, oindre la langue*, which show that *oindre* alone contained the essen-

tial idea. This meaning deserves accordingly a separate treatment in dictionaries. The old locution develops into *graisser la patte* through *engraisser les mains*, unnoted, so far as we have found, by lexicographers. We indicate further the importance of the *Carité* as the basis for study of the locution and of the fabliau *La vieille qui oint*, to the bibliography of which it should be added.

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NOTES ON HEINE.¹

IV.

In the Osterode Dream, *Elster*, III, 22, ll. 20-24, occur the lines:

"Schweigt! schweigt! ich höre die Stimme des teuren Prometheus, die höhrende Kraft und die stumme Gewalt schmieden den Schuldlosen an den Marterfelsen, und all euer Geschwätz und Gezänke kann nicht seine Wunden kühlen und seine Fesseln zerbrechen!"

On this passage Buchheim (p. 91) has the following note: "This passage is an allusion to the so-called 'Holy Alliance,' which was formed after the final overthrow of Napoleon by the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, with the object of suppressing the liberal movements on the Continent; so that *Prometheus* would seem to stand here for the 'spirit of liberty': but according to the Fr. version, which runs, '*La force insultante et la violence muette de la sainte alliance ont enchaîné le héros sur un rocher dans l'Océan*,' *Prometheus* stands here for Napoleon."

All the other English editors² adopt this latter view, and in terms far less guarded. It would seem, however, that this identification of *Prome-*

¹⁷ Salva, s. v. *untar*. I am told that the Czech language also possesses a phrase *na mazal*, 'to butter one's self,' 'to get rich illegitimately.'

¹⁸ Jamieson: *Dict. Scott. Lang.*, s. v. *creish*. It is probable also that the extension of *oindre la paume* to *engraisser les mains* was assisted by the sense of 'to soil' in *engraisser*.

¹⁹ Professor Adolph Cohn makes the interesting suggestion that the transference to *patte* be due to the fact that the latch-strings and knockers of doors were frequently ornamented with the metal paws of animals, and observes that *graisser la patte* is now especially used in reference to the tipping of janitors. If this plausible theory be true, the modern locution is a fusion of *engraisser les mains* (*la main*) with *graisser le marteau* in the pun *patte* = *main* and *marteau*.

¹ Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. XXIII, pp. 25-28.

² Elster does not comment. The passage is not claimed as a reference to Napoleon by Holzhausen in his *Heinrich Heine und Napoleon I.*, Frankfurt a. M., 1903. Cf. p. 109: In der 1824 geschriebenen "Harzreise," dieser reinsten und anmutigsten seiner Prosadichtungen, geschieht des grossen Mannes, dessen Namen der Dichter im Herzen trug, auch nicht mit einer Silbe Erwähnung.

theus with Napoleon is for the German *Harzreise* out of question. Apart from the consideration that Napoleon had at the time of writing been dead for some years, it is inconceivable that Heine should have here employed the epithet *der Schuldlose* as descriptive of Napoleon. To him he is *imperator*³ and *triumphator*,⁴ not *der Schuldlose*.

Nor does Buchheim's statement as to the reading of the French version hold good upon a closer examination. Although Elster in his critical apparatus (III, 511) has in this case overlooked the variation, a distinction must be made between the reading of the first French version, *F*₁ (1834), and the second French version, *F*₂ (1858). *F*₁, a copy of which is in the New York Public Library, Astor Foundation, correctly reads *l'innocent* = *den Schuldlosen*. Whoever in 1858, two years after the poet's death, was responsible for this change from *l'innocent* to *le héros* correctly felt that the former designation was inappropriate, and, as a descriptive epithet, inapplicable to Napoleon.⁵ If the alteration goes back to Heine himself, and this is a possibility that has to be reckoned with, then it is probably to be accounted another instance of his opportunism, of a kind with the changes which, to meet the exigencies of the changed political situation under the second empire, he made in his earlier letters from Paris.⁶

In the passage under consideration, therefore, the figure of Prometheus doubtless symbolizes liberal Germany under the heel of the Metternich régime. The veiled character of the allusion is characteristic of the period and may itself have been a factor in the foisting of the Napoleonic interpretation upon the French version of 1858. Such a parallel, Prometheus : Napoleon, lay close at hand and not only was familiar from contem-

porary literature⁷ but occurs in Heine as well. In the *Reise von München nach Genua*, Elster, III, 273, we read :

Vielleicht, nach Jahrtausenden, wird ein spitzfindiger Schulmeister in einer grundgelehrten Dissertation unumstösslich beweisen : dass der Napoleon Bonaparte ganz identisch sei mit jenem andern Titane, der den Göttern das Licht raubte und für dieses Vergehen auf einem einsamen Felsen, mitten im Meere, angeschmiedet wurde, preisgegeben einem Geier, der täglich sein Herz zerfleischte.

On the other hand, a "Volk-Prometheus" is reflected, even if indirectly, in such a passage⁸ as the following :

Von dem Augenblick an, wo eine Religion bei der Philosophie Hülfe begehrt, ist ihr Untergang unabwendlich. Sie sucht sich zu verteidigen und schwatzt sich immer tiefer ins Verderben hinein. Die Religion, wie jeder Absolutismus, darf sich nicht justifyieren. Prometheus wird an den Felsen gefesselt von der schweigenden Gewalt. Ja, Äschylus lässt die personifizierte Gewalt kein einziges Wort reden. Sie muss stumm sein.

It is characteristic of Heine's self-consciousness as man and poet that an identification of himself with the Titan Prometheus is likewise not uncommon in his works. Thus we find it, without any special coloring, in the *Gesang der Okeaniden*.⁹

O Tor, du Tor, du prahlender Tor !
Halstarrig bist du wie dein Ahnherr,
Der hohe Titane, der himmlisches Feuer
Den Göttern stahl und den Menschen gab, . . .

Two other passages, *Geständnisse*, Elster, VI, 33, and *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen*, Elster, II, 469, show the same identification. Both of these passages bear a marked resemblance to the sentences from the *Harzreise*, not only in that they make use of the "Traummotiv," but that, in so far as Heine feels himself representative of his nation or of liberal Germany, they show an approach to a "deutsches Volk-Prometheus."

In Heine's *Gedanken und Einfälle*, in a passage

⁷ Compare e. g. for Byron the *Ode to Napoleon Buona-parte*, stanza xvi, and *The Age of Bronze*, ll. 226 ff.

⁸ *Zur Geschichte der Religion u. Philosophie in Deutschland*, Elster, IV, 232.

⁹ Elster, I, 186.

³ Elster, V, 87; VI, 242, 249.

⁴ Elster, VI, 242.

⁵ A discussion of the guilt or innocence of Napoleon, such as found in Elster, IV, 64, is, of course, without bearing upon this question.

⁶ Cf. R. F. Arnold in his review of Holzhausen's *Heinrich Heine und Napoleon I.*, Euphorion, XIII, 241. According to Strodtmann (II, 395) Heine's work upon the *Oeuvres Complètes* dates from this very period: Mit besonderer Sorgfalt unterzog Heine sich seit dem Ende des Jahres 1852 der Redaktion einer französischen Gesamtausgabe seiner Schriften.

that is perhaps reminiscent of Byron,¹⁰ this symbolism reaches its highest potency, Prometheus there becoming synonymous with humanity, humanity rent by the vulture of despair :

Die Erde ist der grosse Felsen, woran die Menschheit, der eigentliche Prometheus, gefesselt ist und vom Geier des Zweifels zerfleischt wird. Sie hat das Licht gestohlen und leidet nun Martern dafür.

V.

Towards the close of the *Harzreise*, Elster, III, 69, Heine makes the following observation :

Es ärgert mich jedesmal, wenn ich sehe, dass man auch Gottes liebe Blumen, ebenso wie uns, in Kasten geteilt hat, und nach ähnlichen Äusserlichkeiten, nämlich nach Staubfädenverschiedenheit. Soll doch mal eine Einteilung stattfinden, so folge man dem Vorschlage Theophrasts, der die Blumen mehr nach dem Geiste, nämlich nach ihrem Geruch, einteilen wollte.

On this Elster has the following footnote :

Theophrastus, geboren um 390 v. Chr. zu Eresos auf Lesbos, Schüler von Plato und Aristoteles und des letztern Nachfolger in der Leitung der peripatetischen Schule, schrieb eine "Historia plantarum" und ein Werk "De causis plantarum," dessen 6. Buch über den Geruch und Geschmack der Pflanzen handelt.

All English editors subsequent to Elster copy this note in substance. As stated by Elster, the sixth book of *De causis plantarum* (περὶ φνῶν αἰρῶν) does, in 20 chapters, treat *De saporibus odoribusque plantarum* (περὶ δὲ χυλῶν καὶ ὀσμῶν), but a careful examination of the edition by Wim-

mer (Paris, 1866) fails to disclose any observation, however remote, on which such a statement can reasonably be based. A scrutiny of the *Differentialiae florum* (i. e. Bk. 1, ch. 13 of the *Historia Plantarum*) and of the fragment *De Odoribus*, led to similar negative results. In fact, the whole attitude of Theophrastus toward nature is such as almost to preclude the supposition that it was he who made the fantastic suggestion that smell might properly be made the basis of a classification of flowers. Nor is any mention made of the Greek Theophrastus anywhere else in Heine's published works.

It seems likely, therefore, that Heine had in mind, not the Greek Theophrastus, but Theophrastus Paracelsus, of Hohenheim, the celebrated scholar and physician of the Renaissance. A reference to Heine's commonplace-book, *Gedanken und Einfälle*, Elster, VII, 414, proves this to have been actually the case. We there read :

Philarrète Chasles ordnet als Litterarhistoriker die Schriftsteller nicht nach Äusserlichkeiten . . . , sondern nach dem inneren geistigen Prinzip, nach Wahlverwandtschaft. So will Paracelsus die Blumen nach dem Geruch klassifizieren—wie viel sinnreicher als Linné nach Staubfäden ! . . .

It may be regarded as fairly certain that we here have the source of the remark in the *Harzreise*: the entry in the commonplace book was in the *Harzreise* turned to good account. Unlike the Grecian, Paracelsus is twice mentioned elsewhere by Heine, in *Der Salon* (Elster, IV, 226) and the *Elementargeister* (Elster, IV, 382). Both as a personality and as scientist Paracelsus possessed qualities that made him distinctly akin to the Romantic spirit.¹¹

But while the fact that Heine in the passage under consideration had in mind, not the peripatetic philosopher, but the "Naturphilosoph" of the Renaissance, seems clearly established, it is quite another matter to find authority for the statement in the published works of Paracelsus, be they Latin or German. The Geneva edition (3 vols., 1658) especially has been carefully

¹⁰ Byron's *Prometheus*:

Thou art a symbol and a sign
To mortals of their fate and force ;
Like thee, Man is in part divine,
A troubled stream from a pure source ;
And man in portions can foresee
His own funeral destiny ;
His wretchedness, and his resistance,
And his sad unallied existence :

Heine also resembles the English poet in the large use made of Prometheus as a poetic symbolic figure. For the fascination the character of Prometheus exerted upon Byron, see the edition of E. H. Coleridge (London, 1901), *Poetry*, IV, p. 48, note 3.

¹¹ See the chapter *Romantische Ärzte* in Ricarda Huch's *Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik*. The connection of the plot of Fouqué's *Undine* with Paracelsus is also well known.

examined, not a difficult undertaking in view of the admirable indices with which these seventeenth century tomes are equipped. The search was utterly fruitless. I do not think it likely that Heine got his information direct from Paracelsus or that the statement in question can actually be traced to that author. It is, however, possible that the conceit is based on some perversion of a doctrine of Paracelsus, such as *e. g.* that of the quintessences.

VI.

Gottschalck's *Taschenbuch für Reisende in den Harz* is mentioned three times by Heine, Elster, III, 23, 36, 73. The edition that immediately preceded Heine's tour is the third, Magdeburg, 1823, but notwithstanding Elster's note on III, 23, it remains somewhat doubtful whether this third edition was the one actually used by Heine. The passage that gives rise to this doubt, and which may also be not without bearing on the subject of the "Dichtung und Wahrheit" of the *Harzreise*, reads as follows (Elster, III, 36):

In Gottschalks "Handbuch" hatte ich von dem uralten Dom und von dem berühmten Kaiserstuhl zu Goslar viel gelesen. Als ich aber beides besehen wollte, sagte man mir: der Dom sei niedergerissen und der Kaiserstuhl nach Berlin gebracht worden.

Now the third edition of Gottschalck (p. 158) states definitely: "Im Jahre 1820 ward der Dom abgebrochen, und mit ihm Goslars erste Merkwürdigkeit vernichtet." The second edition (1817), on the other hand, had contained a detailed description: "In den früheren Ausgaben dieses Taschenbuchs wurde ihre Reihe (d. h. der interessanten Gegenstände) mit dem vom dritten Kaiser Heinrich gegründeten Dom eröffnet." Under the circumstances one is tempted to ask whether Heine's clever phrase "des seligen Doms" in "Einige Merkwürdigkeiten des seligen Doms sind jetzt in der Stephanskirche aufgestellt" may not represent a reminiscence, conscious or unconscious, of Gottschalck's "Nur ein unbedeutendes Theilchen des Ganzen steht noch, als grosser Leichenstein, am Grabe des Gefallenen." If this surmise be correct, then the whole setting of the paragraph as cited above "In Gottschalks 'Handbuch' hatte ich," etc., is clearly a bit of fiction.

In any case, it should be pointed out that the sentence: "Dieser Christuskopf mit natürlichen Haaren und Dornen und blutbeschmiertem Gesichte zeigt freilich höchst meisterhaft das Hinsterben eines Menschen, aber nicht eines gottgebornen Heilands" is obviously intended as a criticism of Gottschalck's observation: "Ferner einen Christus am Kreutz, aus Holz geschnitzt, auf dessen Gesicht das Hinsterben meisterhaft ausgedrückt ist."

That the *Harzreise* shows the influence of the *Taschenbuch* in a number of other details will appear from the following parallel¹² passages, which do not require further comment:

HEINE.

Elster, III, 35.

Der Markt ist klein, in der Mitte steht ein Springbrunnen, dessen Wasser sich in ein grosses Metallbecken ergiesst. Bei Feuerbrünsten wird einigemal daran geschlagen; es gibt dann einen weitschallenden Ton. Man weiss nichts vom Ursprunge dieses Bekkens. Einige sagen, der Teufel habe es einst zur Nachtzeit dort auf den Markt hingestellt.

Elster, III, 54.

Der Brocken ist ein Deutscher. Mit deutscher Gründlichkeit zeigt er uns, klar und deutlich, wie ein Riesenpanorama, die vielen hundert Städte, Städtchen und Dörfer, die meistens nördlich liegen, und ringsum alle Berge, Wälder, Flüsse, Flächen, unendlich weit. Aber eben dadurch erscheint alles wie eine scharf gezeichnete, rein illuminierte Spezialkarte, nirgends wird das Auge durch eigentlich schöne Landschaften erfreut;

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pp. 164-5.

wie das grosse eiserne Becken auf dem Markte, welches durch Röhren mit Wasser gefüllt wird. Wenn Feuer in der Stadt entsteht, so wird einige Mal daran geschlagen, welches einen sehr starken weitschallenden Ton giebt. Man besitzt keine Nachrichten, wann es hierher gekommen, und darf ihm daher ein sehr hohes Alter zuschreiben. Die Sage will, dass es der Teufel zur Nachtzeit hingestellt habe.

p. 113.

Wer schöne mahlerische Landschaften vom Brocken zu erblicken hofft, wird sich getäuscht finden. . . . Aber eben darin besteht das Eigenthümliche dieses Gesichtspunktes, dass man hier nicht . . . eine schöne Landschaft nahe vor sich hat, sondern über Alles um sich her erhaben ist, . . . eine ungeheure Fläche Land und Gebirge überblickt, die gleich einer Landkarte ausgebreitet ist, und ein natürliches Panorama genannt werden kann.

¹²With the "999 Feuerstellen" with which Heine (Elster, III, 15) credits Göttingen, compare the use of the word *Feuerstelle* in Gottschalck, pp. 151, 185, 375, 382, etc., and, for the collocation especially, p. 370: "Es (Werna) zählt 53 Feuerstellen und viele Juden."

Elster, III, 74.

Nicht umsonst hingen die
altsächsischen Kaiser so
sehr an ihrem heimischen
Harze.

p. 16.

Nur alsdann, wenn man die Schönheit, die Fruchtbarkeit, und die übrigen natürlichen Vortheile des Unterharzes durch den Augenschein kennen gelernt hat, kann man es sich erklären, warum die sächsischen Kaiser so gern in diesen Gegenden lebten, sich so lange hier aufhielten, und überall Wohnsitze hatten, deren Trümmer noch jetzt eine Zierde der Gegenden sind.

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not pull them : to keep always a distance between her and themselves." *De Tr.*, 11, 1 : "nec habet [sapiens], ubi illam [fortunam] timeat, quia non mancipia tantum possessionesque et dignitatem, sed corpus quoque suum et oculos et manum et quicquid cariorem vitam facturum est, seque ipsum inter precaria numerat vivitque ut commodatus sibi et reposcentibus sine tristitia redditurus. . . . Quandocumque autem reddere iubebitur, non queretur cum fortuna, sed dicit : 'gratias ago pro eo quod possedi habuique.'"

“Yet that which happens to any man may to every man.” *De Tr.*, 11, 8: “Publius,
. . . et hoc ait :

cuius potest occidere quod cuiquam potest.

..... Scito ergo omnem condicionem versa-
bilem esse et quicquid in ullum incurrit, posse in
te quoque incurrere.”

“But it is in his reason, what he accounts it and will make it.” *De Tr.*, 13, 3: “Hoc est quare sapienti nihil contra opinionem dicamus accidere. non illum casibus hominum excepimus, sed erroribus, nec illi omnia ut voluit cedunt, sed ut cogitavit.”

II.

Non nimium credendum antiquitati (p. 7). The quotations are from Epistle 33, 11.

III.

Beneficia (p. 17). It is strange that the very title of this paragraph should not have directed Professor Schelling to Seneca's *De Ben.*, especially as elsewhere he does make references to that work. With the whole of what Jonson says, compare *De Ben.*, VI, 8, especially the following passages: "Beneficium aliquis nesciens accipit, nemo a nesciente. Quomodo multos fortuita sanant nec ideo remedia sunt: et in flumen alicui cecidisse frigore magno causa sanitatis fuit. quomodo quorundam flagellis quartana discussa est. . . . non tamen ideo illis beneficium debemus, quod perniciose illorum consilia fortuna deflexit in melius. . . . et beneficium ab iniuria distinguit non eventus, sed animus. Adversarius meus, dum contraria dicit et iudicem superbia offendit et in unum testem rem demittit, causam meam erexit. non quaero an pro me erraverit; contra me voluit." See also ch. 7, 3.

NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF JONSON'S
DISCOVERIES.

The old notion that the *Discoveries* were “a production of original English prose” was once for all laid to rest in Professor Schelling’s excellent edition of them.¹ As he confessed, however, and as Gifford confessed before him, the industry and learning of no one man are equal to the task of checking up Jonson’s reading, even his high-handed borrowings. In the following pages I have, I think, made some contribution to the gradually accumulating mass of knowledge concerning the sources of one of the most interesting and important of Jonson’s works.²

I.

Fortuna (p. 3). "Ill fortune never crushed that man whom good fortune deceived not. I therefore have counselled my friends never to trust to her fairer side, though she seemed to make peace with them ; but to place all things she gave them so, as she might ask them again without their trouble ; she might take from them,

¹ 1892. See page xviii.

² The page references are to Schelling's edition. *De Tr.* = *De Tranquillitate Animi* of Seneca; *De Ben.* = *De Beneficiis*; *De Cl.* = *De Clementia*; the text used is the Teubner text of Haase, 1887; the references to it are self-explanatory.